3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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either carried far into the hills and there deposited in some lonely, out-of-the-way spot, or it is placed to dry in the upper part of the house for about a month, when it may be thrown away in a place where no one is likely to find it. When the umbilicus finally sluffs from the body, it is kept in the house for a month or so and also thrown away in some secluded spot.

This great care that no one shall come upon either the umbilical cord or the afterbirth is apparently not due to fear that the child or a member of its immediate family will be injured if either should be found, but it is claimed that the magic effect upon a person encountering either would be very serious, and might even result in death. No evidence could be obtained that would point to the use of either the umbilicus or the placenta by shamans or others for bringing about magic spells or other malevolent effects.

Immediately after its birth, the child is bathed in warm water and its entire face is painted with red achote, but neither the child nor the mother is obliged later to undergo any purification or other ceremony.

NAMES

According to their profession of the Roman Catholic faith the Cayapa baptize their children for the first time within a few days after birth. This first rite is performed by a man and a woman, special friends of the family, who are selected by the parents. If the child is a boy, he is held by the man who is to become his godfather while the woman who is to become his godmother

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in which, in order to escape the wrath of public opinion and castigation by the officials, offenders against the divorce laws have left the Cayapa country entirely and taken up their abode in Colombia or in the interior of Ecuador. The same applies to the laws relating to marriage between near relatives. The evasion or the open violation of either the laws of divorce or those governing consanguineal marriage are, however, of such rare occurrence that the laws may be said to operate almost perfectly, and they, together with the laws requiring chastity and fidelity in both sexes, certainly produce a salutary moral effect on the community. In fact, it is most exceptional to find a tribe or a community of the size of the Cayapa in which the ethical standards are so high and so strictly observed.

DEATH

As was stated in speaking of medicine practices, death is ordinarily attributed to the presence of malevolent spirits in the body, whither they find their way by various means. For instance, they may be placed by some malicious shaman in the soul of the individual as it wanders about during sleep, or they may enter directly into the body as one passes some particular spot believed to be infested with these malicious, disease-breeding spirits.

There seems to be a difference of opinion as to the soul. One informant maintained that there are numerous souls, each residing in a different part of the body; that the one in the chest is the largest and most im-

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quently it has the form of a dwarf or even of a normal human being, especially if its abode is an inanimate object. These spirits may leave their abodes and travel at will, or they may take their abodes wish them. They have great magic powers, both for good and for evil.

In addition to the benevolent offices of the shaman, he may exercise a malevolent function by calling spirits to his assistance for the purpose of killing or otherwise doing harm to his enemies. The spirits which he uses for this evil purpose may be those which he uses for good in other cases—they may aid him in killing an enemy at one time and in curing a friend at another.

The abodes of spirits are numberless. They may live within almost any smooth water-worn stone, especially a black or a red one; they are always resident in prehistoric potsherds, especially those of human or animal form; and abide also in almost any object of stone or other hard material of unusual form, particularly if it is smooth. Many mountains and hills contain spirits, both within them and on their slopes and summits. Also nearly every mammal, bird, reptile, and insect is the abode of a spirit entirely distinct from its soul or shade. It is these many spirits residing in both animate and inanimate objects that are the media by which shamans work their magic for both good and evil. A spirit is sometimes called forth from its abode to serve the shaman while thus separated from the object in which it dwells; but it may equally well serve him while in its abode, in which event the object in which the spirit abides accompanies it on its mission.

Furthermore, treatment by magic is almost the only

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The Soul

The soul, called kʉ'mi, inhabits every human body as well as the bodies of certain other animate beings. In general it has the form of the body that it inhabits, and has the power of leaving the body during sleep and of traveling about at will. In their travels the souls visit many places, such as cemeteries, houses of friends, etc., and are subject to considerable danger while thus wandering about. A shaman with malicious intent may by his magic summon one of these wandering souls and, by appearing friendly, may gain its confidence sufficiently to induce it to drink chicha, thus partially intoxicating it and enabling him to insert within it a pebble, a snake, an insect, or some other object which will work ill. On returning to its body, the soul takes with it this malevolent object, which also enters the body. As a result, illness follows almost immediately and the person dies within a short time, usually at or just before sunset, unless properly and promptly doctored by a shaman. Such illness is said to resemble an attack due to a natural cause, which is to say that it resembles an attack caused by the entrance of similar objects into the body by means other than through the agency of the soul; for it must be remembered that all illness other than that resulting from wounds, bruises, or other visible external means, is attributed to the presence of one or more of these magic objects in the body. It is said that fevers, for instance, which result from the presence in the body of these malevolent objects brought to it by means of the soul, cannot be distinguished in

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753 their symptoms from fevers resulting from drinking water in a new region. This alludes to the fact that in [164] this region it almost invariably happens, even with people in perfect health, that if they travel from the coast into the interior mountains, or vice versa, they become ill for a short time with a fever of greater or lesser gravity. This is attributed directly to the change of drinking water, though in the Cayapa mind there is here also a direct connection with spirits.

•757 A still greater danger to the soul as it travels about 775 during sleep arises when a shaman sets a trap or a deadfall at any point he thinks a soul is likely to pass. If the soul gets into this trap or deadfall, it is killed, so to speak, and its owner never awakens. The soul itself, being immortal, later escapes from the trap or deadfall and passes on with its future existence, but once the life has left the body which it formerly inhabited, the soul is never able to return to it.

775 After death, souls travel about as they do in sleep, frequenting for a time special burial places and the homes which their bodies formerly inhabited. They would, if unmolested, continue indefinitely to go about their former haunts, but, owing to the danger to the living from their presence, means are taken to expel them. The expulsion of these souls, as also of malevolent spirits, by one or more shamans has been described in detail in speaking of medicine practices.

774 By many it is claimed that certain mammals, birds, reptiles, and other animate objects do not possess souls, but by others it is claimed that every animate object has a soul. Inanimate objects, such as waterworn

small temporary shelters called by the Spanish term *ranchos*. In general construction these *ranchos* are similar to the permanent houses, but they may be only a foot or two off the ground. As the property holdings of most Cayapa are scattered, many build second permanent houses at other convenient sites and alternate residences as the farming situation dictates. If relatives have a house in the area already, then a new house need not be built, and shelter is taken with the kin. It is possible for a family to have no permanent abode of its own but rather to shift back and forth between relatives who happen to live near their property. This, however, is a very rare occurrence, and in the few cases recorded, I suspect that it is transitory. A "complete" person "*un hombre completo*" to be fully adult should be master of his own house. Pedrito Alape, for example, was living with relatives, but he was bewitched and suffered from many illnesses, and in addition his land was "spoiled" by witchcraft. Despite this, he still felt that the best thing for him to do was to get some land elsewhere, and set up an independent household.

Subsistence Activities. Farming is the main occupation

If the mother should die first, then no attempt is made to remove the child. Births that result in death are said to have been caused by witchcraft. Insofar as I was able to determine, no counter measures are taken for revenge. 845 [754]

When labor pains begin, the woman is given a hot drink of rum, lemon, and sulfur. Some women claim to have had painless births, and others claim it hurt each time. After the delivery the mid-wife cuts the umbilical cord /pwali^{9}i/ with a metal knife. The mid-wife buries the umbilical cord under the house about two hours following the birth. It is said that if the cord should be thrown away, then a malignant spirit would get it, and turn it into an animal that kills people. Also, if the cord were not properly buried, then the mother might die of hemorrhage. 844 [278] [412] 846 [776]

After the delivery the mother remains at home for two months. She does light tasks about the house, but she does not go to work in the fields. She observes some food taboos during this period such as being forbidden to eat crabs, clams, or meat. If the taboo is broken, it is believed that she will lose her [242] [784]

vicinity. It may kill people whom it encounters alone. The third soul, the bald ghost is dressed in white and remains by the grave. "In the old days, it would fight with its enemies, but nowadays this does not happen." The /kíme/ has the form of the body it inhabits, and it has the power of leaving the body during sleep, and of travelling about at will. In their travels, the souls visit many places, such as cemeteries, houses of friends, and distant places. At these times the soul is in danger of being harmed by witchcraft: if the /kíme/ is prevented from returning to its body, that person must die.

In common with much of the Catholic world, the Cayapa believe that a deceased infant has not had a chance to sin and so goes directly to heaven as an angel; however, if the child had been conceived in sin, then they maintain that it is an abomination, and non-Christian. In this case they feel that the Christian thing to do is to kill the neonate, but the status of the soul of the infant is not clear. On the question of the immediate transit to heaven of the infant's soul, the Negroes are the authorities for the Cayapa. As an instance, the wife of Pablo Canalebu of Encanto, died

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Adults and children are buried in a cemetery

area called the panteón, while infants are buried directly inside the church. When an adult dies he is buried immediately outside the church entrance underneath the church bell that is suspended from the projecting roof. The Cayapa maintain that it is very important to be buried in the ceremonial center to which one belongs. Ceremonial allegiance is inherited in the patrilineal line and even though one has spent all or most of his life living in one of the other tribal groups, they believe that one should still be buried in the proper center. If a Cayapa should die far from home, he is interred at the site of death. Thereafter, attempts are made to bring the bones back for a proper funeral and burial. A casket is made, and the bones are laid out. The mourning and gaiety described above are carried out, but in a much more perfunctory fashion.

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Medical Practices. Illness for the Cayapa is mainly a matter of soul loss or spirit possession. To a lesser extent, the cause of the illness may be the presence of small physical objects such as stones or thorns which have been placed within the body by means of witchcraft.

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maintain that the best witches are not Cayapa at all but rather the Cholo of Colombia and the Colorado of Ecuador. Next in order of preference are the highland Indians around Ibarra, and, finally, those Cayapa who have been instructed from the masters listed in descending order of preference. Those Cayapa who have been instructed by other Cayapa enjoy very little esteem. There is said to be a good deal of jealousy between witches, and in popular belief they are said to seek opportunities to kill off their rivals.

The Cayapa theory of spirit possession is that if one is wandering in the monte, a spirit may spy one and fall in love with one. The spirit then embraces the victim and enters his body. Spirits or inimical objects may be implanted in the body by witchcraft as well. When someone falls ill and lingers in illness for a time, the charge is made that an enemy is at work. The task of the brujo is simply to rid the body of the object or spirit that is causing the illness.

The witches' paraphernalia consists of archaeological artifacts that were made by the people resident in the area prior to the Cayapa occupation. A

and chanted a curious mixture of Spanish and what may have been unintelligible magical Quechua words. The Spanish element predominated, but not as connected discourse. The manner of chanting made comprehension extremely difficult for me, but the sequence may be described as stretches of humming, interspersed with unintelligibility, peaked by the words "moreno . . . indio bravo . . . enfermidad . . . brujo . . . ," that is, "Negro . . . wild Indian . ... sickness . . . witch . . . ." From time to time there were straight Spanish incantations: "This man is sick, I know, I know, cure, cure, Negro." The Negro is included in the list of powerful words because it is felt that Negroes often practice black magic against the Indian; similarly, the Indio Bravos were a powerful people whose very stone and pottery artifacts retain their ancient power. The witch is included for obvious reasons, and Spanish is used probably because it connotes power. A man who controls Spanish controls the outside forces to a degree impossible for a monolingual Cayapa.

On occasion, Alejandro would take a mouthful of rum and blow it out in the direction of the patient.

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ugly to bear, and that I must leave before he began his cure, but the other two assured him that I was a "good gringo." By this point, the three brujos were quite drunk, and unable to function. The father took the child back to the main house, where it died early the following morning.

It is felt that brujos can kill as well as cure, but except for one instance, excessive sorcery was never attributed to Cayapa brujos. The father of Perdomo of Encanto was a brujo who was killed because "he killed too many people." This was the only instance recorded and it was apparently done on an individual basis and not through the legal apparatus.

Government. The Spanish governmental nomenclature can be found with varying degrees of completeness in each of the four tribal sections. The list as noted by Barrett included the following: "Governador, secretario de la gobernación, teniente político, alcalde, comisário, capitán, sargento." (Barrett 1925:312). In 1960, the terms alcalde, comisário, and teniente político were apparently no longer in use, and no one knew of any individual who occupied any of these offices.

Today, as in 1909, there are apparently three

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that the brother was much too young, whereupon Margarita agreed to marry Cristobal even though he was already married. They were subsequently married by a priest. Santian, Cristobal's brother, resented this and complained to the /ún^{y}i/, Arcilio. Margarita claimed that the charges were not true and that she had, indeed, been delivered to Santian and was living with him. Arcilio ordered Cristobal and Margarita to receive twenty lashes. The sentence was minimal because they claimed "never to have embraced." Then they were told that they would receive two hundred lashes if they made love from then on. When they returned to Viche from Punta Venado, Margarita lived with Santian for about four months; following this, Cristobal took her back. The brothers had harsh words but did not exchange blows. Cristobal's two wives appeared to live together amicably. About a year later the father of the first wife took his daughter back with him. She had been crippled for some time, and people were saying that Cristobal had bewitched her. When her father died soon afterwards, Santian accused his brother of having killed him. Cristobal's first wife confirmed this. However, Cristobal and Margarita denied the charge. When the /ún^{y}i/ asked

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why he had delivered Margarita to his brother who was too young for marriage, he remained silent. The punishment was to be fifty lashes each, but since they kept protesting their innocence, the sentence was reduced to twenty lashes each.

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About a year after the death of Cristobal's first father-in-law, a son of the dead man named Gorce Cimarrón went to Colombia to hire a Cholo witch in an attempt to find out who had killed his father. The Cholo reported that Cristobal was the guilty one; so Gorce went to Cristobal's house and accused him of the murder, but Cristobal did not reply. Three days later Cristobal was dead. Several years later, one of Cristobal's brothers, Arcinto, heard of the affair and went looking for a witch. Gorce died a few years later, and his death was said to have been caused by the witch hired by Arcinto. Arcinto still lives in Viche where he also has two wives. He has never been punished as he never goes to the ceremonial center for fiestas.

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In the space of certainly not more than a decade the above case is found in at least one alternate version.

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Mariano takes a second wife. Mariano lived up the Río Esmeraldas and was married to the daughter of Pedrito Añapa's paternal grandfather. They had three children, two girls and one boy. Mariano went looking for another wife near San José on the Río Cayapas. He had divorced his first wife and her father was very angry over the affair. Consequently, the woman's brother went to talk to Mariano who said that he had taken divorce action because this woman did not work or cook well. He also complained that she was older than he and slightly lame. Mariano was a witch, and he told the first wife's brother that he was going to kill his father. About a year later, the old man did indeed die. Following this, the brothers of the first wife went to Santo Domingo de los Colorados and found a Colorado witch who told them that the death was caused, not by God, but by a man--namely, Mariano. For two hundred and fifty sucres the witch offered to kill Mariano. The price was paid and Mariano died about four months later. The affair ended at this point with no attempts at revenge.

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While there are differences in names and locations and in the length of time leading to the death

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of the father-in-law, the plot is the same and the kinship relations of the dramatis personae are the same. In both versions, the murdered man's son goes to seek revenge with the aid of foreign witches. The first version reports that Cristobal came up from Viche to cure Margarita, while in the second version, Mariano came up to San José. Margarita who is the wife of Alejandro of Encanto was said to have been the second wife of Cristobal and she was born near San José. While the unity and historicity of the two tales is not certain, it is reasonably sure. It is of some interest that polygyny is not a factor in the second version. In both stories, the first wife leaves the home with apparent reluctance. The second version was told to me by a member of the first wife's family and leads me to believe that the bone of contention that initiated the chain of events which culminated in murder was not polygyny but, rather, the divorce. It is of considerable interest to note that in the first version, Arcinto is said to be still living with two wives in Viche up the Río Esmeraldas and that he has never been punished. Clearly, one can avoid punishment by leaving the community at a distance sufficiently great to make the sending of a commission too expensive.

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Punta Venado and went up the Río Onzole. They were never punished again.

A brief alternate version of the above case has it that Rosenda was never punished "because he is an evil man who can afford to kill people by witchcraft. He also owns a revolver." Another statement was recorded from Gerardo of Encanto, who said that Rosenda had been punished with twenty lashes and fined thirty sucres. He then got rid of the second wife, but he took her back within a year. "People gossip but nothing more can be done, as he has been punished."

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This case was recorded on September 16, 1960. On the eleventh of September, Rosenda's first wife came up to Encanto to visit with the mother of the Cimarrón brothers. [She is 'family' with the mother but not with the sons.] She had come up from the Río Onzole alone and had told Rosenda that she was ill and wanted to look for a brujo. For this, she felt that she needed one hundred sucres, but Rosenda would not give her more than forty. The woman was very angry about Rosenda's lack of concern for her "illness." She told the people in the Cimarrón house that she wanted to leave her husband and go to her father on

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diet now, but the leaves are in demand for roofing material. Another cash crop is hardwood trees, but they are not often planted; enterprising individuals cut them out of the unclaimed forest.

Land is seldom held in one large block. It is usually scattered about among other holdings so that, quite often, choice properties are separated by distances involving several day's travel. Many Cayapa have two houses, each built as close as possible to their main holdings. Inevitably, they must spend considerable time away from large sections of their property and, as a result, Negroes often illegally harvest standing crops or, perhaps, plant their own. Negroes may buy land from the Cayapa, but as the banana economy continues to boom, the Indians are more and more reluctant to sell. Sometimes usufruct is rented by the Negro, usually for a share of the profits, but arguments invariably develop. It is said that the Indian is always at a disadvantage in his dealings with the Negro because of the latter's readiness to engage in witchcraft and "spoil" the land for the Indian owner. If several members of an Indian's family sicken or die, after a recent quarrel with a Negro about land, it is assumed that witchcraft has been

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at work and that the land is spoiled. The Indian will then sell the land for the best price offered but will often take a lower price to avoid selling to the Negro held to be responsible for the witchcraft.

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Sometimes, boys and young men are given sections of land as advance inheritances which they work as they wish, and their work validates their claim to the inheritance. Generally, only those children who have consistently helped the parents work the land are entitled to inherit. Ill will between parents and children need not enter into consideration at all. Maximino Añapa, for example, a son of Marianito Añapa of the Río Camerones, as a very young child was sent to live with his mother's brother in Muisne on the coast, possibly to get him away from an influenza epidemic in the inland area. He stayed with his uncle for many years and helped him work the land; later he cut some out for himself. He used to return to his parents' home for visits of varying lengths of time, but the main attraction for him, however, seems to have been the school at Encanto. When needed, he helped his father work the land; however, he will not inherit any of the land because he said that it had all been promised to his brothers. Since he

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